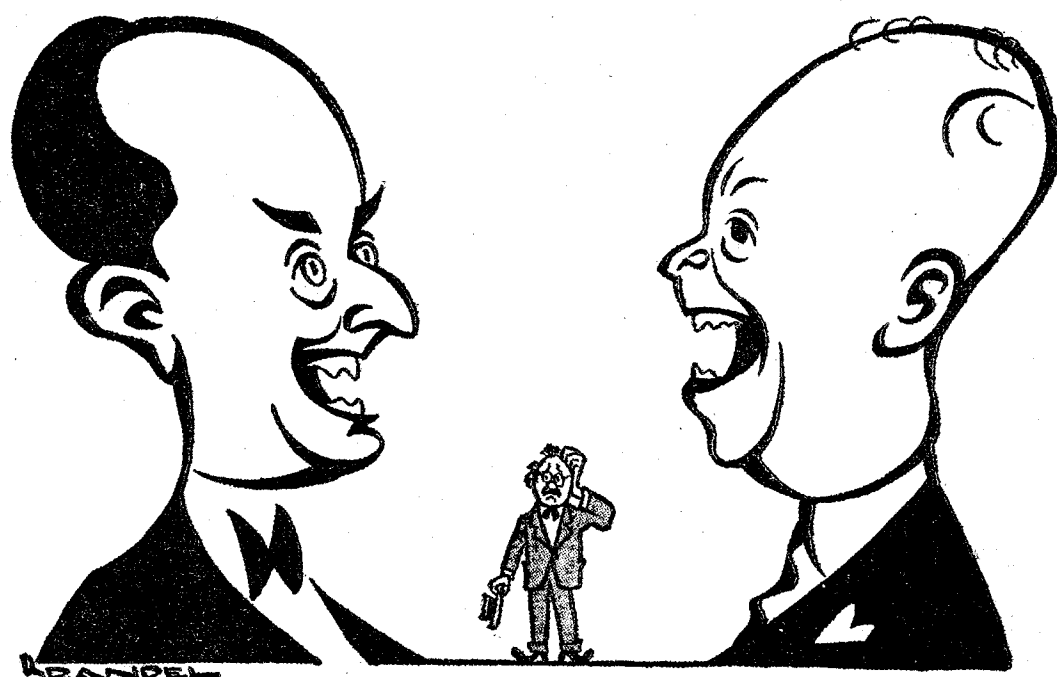


The Passing of "Red" Hynes—*Hannab Bloom*

THE *Nation*

August 2, 1952

CHICAGO AFTERMATH



Adlai Was Available - - - - - *Willard Shelton*

The Price of Unity - - - - - *Carey McWilliams*

Politics Without Mystery - AUG - 4 - 1952 - - - *H. H. Wilson*

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AROUND THE U. S. A.

Operation Lunchbox

Seattle

ON THE West Coast docks "Lunchbox" is the monicker of bullish, brawling Harry Lundeberg, leader of the Jim Crow, fiercely anti-leftist Sailors' Union of the Pacific. Lundeberg and his lieutenants have tied up the Seattle waterfront in a strike against the Alaska Steamship Company, which has a virtual monopoly on shipping to Alaska. Strikes against other companies belonging to the Pacific Maritime Association, the biggest shipping group in the West, have been called in other ports. The Seattle strike is causing serious concern to Alaskans. Governor Ernest Gruening, pleading "Don't let Alaska go hungry," has tried in vain to persuade the S. U. P. to bring food ships to Alaskan ports.

The union asks for a 5 per cent increase in wage and overtime rates, overtime pay for all work after noon on Saturdays, a sixty-day reopening clause for wage increases, and a fifteen-day reopening clause for "scope of work." The shipowners refuse to sign a contract for less than a year and demand a no-strike pledge.

The other maritime unions believe that the shipowners balk chiefly at the reopening clauses. The fifteen-day reopening clause for scope of work is in fact, these unions contend, a "raiding" clause, giving Lundeberg the power to call a strike any time he wants to take jobs from other unions and fill them with his own men.

For more than a year there has been a "beef" between the S. U. P. and Harry Bridges's Longshoremen (I. L. W. U.) over who has jurisdiction over certain stevedoring and cargo-loading jobs on certain types of vessels, particularly steam schooners. "This is an important beef," said the S. U. P.'s fiery newspaper, *West Coast Sailors* (April 4, 1952). "It means more work for us." The Longshoremen replied, "We will load the ships and the sailors will sail them. That is the way it has always been on the Pacific Coast, and that is the way it will always remain."

Right and left unions have joined forces against what they call "Lunch-

box's raid." "It's a matter of survival," an official of the Marine Engineers Beneficial Association said. "If we don't stop him now he'll take us over one by one." The situation appeared so serious to V. J. Malone, president of the strongly anti-leftist Marine Firemen, Oilers, and Wipers, that he flew to Seattle from San Francisco to help organize the Northwest Joint Policy Committee of Maritime Unions. In an open letter distributed to practically every sailor in Seattle the committee states: "The purpose of this committee is to protect the rights and work of the member unions, and to fight with all the means at its command any effort by Harry Lundeberg to attempt to use what he calls a strike to make a wholesale raid on all other maritime unions."

Lundeberg has boasted that he has the support of the Association of Masters, Mates, and Pilots and the American Radio Association. But it is common knowledge that the membership of the former has refused to endorse him. Even Captain May, long president of the M., M., and P. and a crony of Lundeberg's, has denounced him. "If this strike goes on until the end of summer," Captain May declared, "Seattle will be ruined. I think he [Lundeberg] has gone crazy." As for the Radio Association, only an edict from national headquarters in New York has kept the Seattle branch from cooperating with the Joint Committee.

THE STRIKE has another aspect which has made many of the maritime unions jittery. Lundeberg has given all-out support to the Marine Cooks and Stewards (A. F. of L.), which split off from Hugh Bryson's National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards (N. U. M. C. S.) in 1949 and is now competing with it for contracting rights. After the N. U. M. C. S.'s hiring hall was voided by the National Labor Relations Board, the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco directed that hiring halls be set up by the shipowners and that all men with papers to work in the stewards' department be given equal chance to ship, irrespective of union affiliation. The men were allowed, however, to designate the union

of their choice and to ship through that union. This system has given the waterfront the opportunity to observe the sentiments of the workers and to judge whether Lundeberg is riding a tail wind or bucking a storm.

In the struggle between Lundeberg and the N. U. M. C. S. the race issue has played an important role. Of the group which left the N. U. M. C. S. only 1 or 2 per cent were Negroes, although approximately 70 per cent of its Seattle membership was Negro. To gain recruits for the new union Lundeberg's aides have played a double game. They have offered the Negroes "real equality, free from communism," while telling white workers they would protect them from the "colored goon squads" which are supposed to run the N. U. M. C. S. The reaction of both Negroes and whites has been a blow to Lundeberg. The latest registration figures at the neutral hiring halls show 2,582 stewards favoring Bryson's independents and only 263 for Lundeberg's protégé.

Although Bryson's N. U. M. C. S. is disliked—even detested—by some maritime unions because of its alleged Communist leanings, it has the support of most of the important ones in its fight against Lundeberg. "Politics have nothing to do with this," said a wiper who has been on the beach for two months because of the strike. "The way the ship is set up, each union has its own jurisdiction. We want to keep it that way. If Lunchbox takes over the Cooks and Stewards he'll start on us. After that it'll be the Engineers and the Longshoremen. The time to stand together is now, while we're all in one piece."

Lundeberg is in a tough spot. The shipowners have let him down. The public, which usually reserves its spleen for the Longshoremen and the Cooks and Stewards is angry at his Sailors' Union. The newspapers, generally warm to the S. U. P., have cooled. On the waterfront Lundeberg faces the strongest combination of maritime unions gathered together in years. His old seafaring allies have deserted him, and even his own sailors are uneasy and worried. Little wonder that everyone is asking, "What will Lunchbox do now?"

RICHARD MANSARD

THE *Nation*

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The Shape of Things

Egypt and Iran

Among the things that are distinctly underdeveloped in the so-called backward countries is popular affection for Britain and/or the United States. The point is made as regards Bolivia by contributor William Rosenberg (see *Democracy in the Andes*, page 89 of this issue) who hints that it is politically dangerous for any statesman there to seem too friendly toward Washington. Events of the last week have shown that what is true in La Paz is also true in Tehran and Cairo. In Tehran it took only four days for street rioters, shouting anti-American and anti-British slogans, to force out a new Premier whom the Anglo-Americans had been preparing to support, and to return triumphantly to office the implacable Mossadegh, the terror of Anglo-Iranian Oil. In the even more dramatic developments in Egypt, where Farouk has been forced to abdicate by a military strong man, the basic issue is overlaid with domestic problems: corruption in office, and anguished post mortems on the 1948 defeat of the Egyptian army by the Israelis. But what is of significance to the West is the loss of a king who if not friendly has been at least reasonably pliable. Washington and London, in pursuit of settlements of the Suez, Sudan, and general Middle East security questions, must henceforth deal with an Egyptian general whose views are at best uncertain, and with an Egyptian Premier—Aly Maher Pasha—who was so pro-German during World War II that the British intervened to force him out of office.

Events in Cairo and in Tehran are merely the latest dramatic symptoms of the revolutionary unrest pervading the less developed areas of the world. That these symptoms almost invariably show an anti-Western trend points up the need for a constructive Middle East policy as emphasized at the recent New York conference of the Nation Associates.

The Issue Was Profits

The fifty-three-day steel strike has finally been settled on terms less advantageous to the steelworkers than those recommended last March by the Wage Stabilization Board. The workers received a 22-cent wage boost, but the government has granted the companies a price increase of \$5.20 a ton. Since the companies originally

estimated that prices should be raised 20-cents a ton for each one-cent-an-hour increase in the wage bill, it is apparent that "uncle" has been extremely generous with the steel industry.

The settlement follows the pattern of the Bethlehem formula which was worked out five weeks ago in secret talks between the union and the Bethlehem Steel Company. Indeed, the strike might have been settled then if the government had been prepared to grant the price rise demanded by the industry. In retrospect it is clear that the industry at all times held the initiative in its dealings with the government and the unions. Taking advantage of the so-called "emergency," the companies tied the hands of the union for ninety days while inventories were built up and the WSB obligingly stalled the workers. Then came the period of the strike, during which inventories dwindled and demands for steel piled up; this stepped up the pressure on the government to grant a price increase that would enable the companies to face the contingencies of what may prove to be a "post-war" market with every assurance that profits will not decline.

The issue of the strike, from the company's point of view, was never wages or the union shop; the issue was profits. Both the government and the industry must have been fully aware that a cessation of steel production would not imperil the nation's security; otherwise the government would never have permitted the strike to last as long as it did. So far as the companies were concerned, the "emergency" was overproduction.

The Subversive Olympics

We call the attention of Senators McCarthy and McCarran to the scandalously amicable attitude of the American Olympic athletes toward their Soviet competitors—and vice versa. Our boys have permitted their pictures to be taken arm in arm with conspiratorial high hurdlers from Uzbekistan. An American pole-vault champion gratefully accepted the congratulations of his defeated Russian rival, acting as if there were no such thing as Aesopian language. In direct defiance of the Battle act prohibiting the transfer of war materials to the Soviet Union, our pistol-shooters presented a box of ammunition to Russian competitors who were having trouble with their own. Worst of all, an American runner referred to by the *Times* correspond-

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ent as "Horace Ashenfelter of the FBI" showed his heels to the Russians when, as is well known, the reverse should have happened.

Truly, all this is not only scandalous but positively alarming. Events at Helsinki, in demonstrating that we and the Russians can coexist peacefully on the athletic field, may give rise to popular suspicion that the same might be true in other fields. What would happen, then, to the cold war? To armament contracts? To the Republican and Democratic foreign-policy planks? To Senators McCarthy and McCarran?

We respectfully request that the Olympic committee be added to the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations.

Exemplary Union Practice

In a recently published pamphlet entitled "Action Against Jim Crow," the United Packinghouse Workers of America, a C. I. O. affiliate, has documented its fight against racial discrimination in the packinghouse industry. Unhappily only a handful of unions in this country require in their contracts a fair-employment-practices clause—a provision which prohibits discrimination by management against anyone on its payroll. The U. P. W. has gone even further. By insisting in their contracts that the non-discriminatory principle apply to hiring, as well as to treatment of men on the job, they are succeeding where the federal government, through the lack of appropriate legislation, has so far failed.

With the U. P. W.'s meritorious example before them, it is hoped that other unions, which in the past have frequently bargained away a fair-employment-practices clause for other benefits or ignored it altogether, will take a strong stand on this issue and not wait any longer for federal or state legislative action to materialize.

Japan's Trade Dilemma

Japan is seeking entry into the so-called Torquay agreement which extends "most-favored-nation treatment" to the thirty-two countries and customs areas which signed it last year. If, as seems likely, its request is granted, Western industrial circles will feel considerable uneasiness. Financed by a two-billion-dollar American aid program and army procurement orders, Japan can produce many items more cheaply than any other country, and its rate of output is already 50 per cent above the pre-war figure. Were it not for an escape clause in the Torquay agreement—insisted upon by the United States—which allows a country to raise tariffs on imports which threaten to destroy a domestic industry, American producers would be in a panic.

Hampered by tariff barriers in the West and cut off from its "natural" China market by the Battle act, which prohibits any nation receiving United States aid

from trading with a Communist country, Japan is turning more and more to free Asia for markets. In cooperation with Point Four officials and the Defense and Commerce departments, it is passing along to this area a slice of its share of American aid, in the form of capital and capital goods, in return for sorely needed raw materials which it processes into finished products for export. The real solution for Japan's problem will only be found, however, when the United States—and to a lesser extent Great Britain—realizes that without free trade the turn from isolationism to internationalism in political affairs is meaningless.

A Congressional Medal Next?

Andrija Artukovic, Minister of Justice in Hitler's war-time puppet state of Croatia, was permitted to enter this country in 1948 on a visitor's visa. Yugoslavia demanded his extradition as a war criminal. There followed a year of hearings by immigration officials in Los Angeles, where Artukovic is now living. A Yugoslav army officer testified that in 1941 he heard Artukovic urge on a radio broadcast that the Croatians should "greet the Germans with open arms and flowers but kill the Serbs." John J. Knezevich, California publisher who during the war served with American military intelligence, stated publicly: "Under the direction of a triumvirate which included Artukovic, the Croat army performed atrocities, having killed 760,000 Serbian men, women, and children and over 60,000 Jews. . . . Much as I detest Tito, I believe Artukovic must be extradited." Mr. Knezevich is a member of the California Republican State Central Committee.

But instead of being turned over to his accusers, Artukovic got three visa extensions. Then Yugoslavia took its case to the Los Angeles federal District Court, requesting extradition under the terms of an American-Serbian treaty of 1901 which Secretary Acheson had certified as "presently in force." Here two Catholic priests testified in the defendant's behalf. One of them, asked by the judge if Artukovic would make a worthy citizen of this country, replied: "Yes, one of whom we would all be justly proud."

Despite Secretary Acheson's specific affirmation to the contrary, the judge finally ruled that the treaty upon which the Yugoslavs had staked their case was no longer valid. And on the same day—it was on the eve of the recent adjournment of Congress—Representative Sheppard of California introduced a private bill which would give Artukovic continued sanctuary here and enable him to apply for American citizenship.

The Yugoslavs, who say they cannot understand the American position, particularly in view of the political rapprochement between their country and ours, intend to appeal to the Supreme Court. Their perplexity is shared, to put it mildly, by many Americans.

August 2, 1952

The Price of Unity

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

IN NOMINATING Adlai Stevenson the Democrats have chosen their strongest vote-getter and one of the most attractive political personalities to appear on the American scene since the death of President Roosevelt. In politics as in war, as even General MacArthur must now realize, there is no substitute for victory, and in Stevenson the Democrats sensed a winner.

If the Governor of Illinois fails to lead the Democrats to victory in November, it will not be for any lack of political skill. Few nominations have been won with more grace or greater ease than he displayed in acquiescing in a draft that if not completely genuine was sufficiently so to excite the awe and admiration of the politicians. Whatever his motives, his tactics were brilliant. To advance while appearing to resist, to receive President Truman's support without being tagged as a hand-picked successor, and, finally, to win without a campaign—these are achievements which distinguish artistry from mere talent.

But the interest in Governor Stevenson's nomination lies not in his skill as a politician but in what his selection implies. Given the system of dead reckoning used in both parties, Governor Stevenson, like General Eisenhower, is a candidate of the center ("to the right of the Fair Deal," reports Bruce Boissat of the Newspaper Enterprise Association). Chosen by a "free" convention, Stevenson nevertheless paid much the same price for his nomination that was demanded of Eisenhower—generous concessions to the right wing.

While the Democratic platform is less conservative than the Republican, it can hardly be said to advance the frontiers of American liberalism. It fails to call for repeal or modification of the Smith act or of McCarran's Internal Security Act, and adds insult to reticence by suggesting that the main effect of the President's loyalty program has been to protect "loyal public servants against unfounded and malicious attacks." The foreign-policy planks are weak, and this fact, together with the absence of debate, would indicate that the Democrats do not consider foreign policy a major issue. In this they may be right: observers as dissimilar in outlook as John O'Donnell and Anne O'Hare McCormick agree that just as the Democrats seem to be in complete harmony on foreign policy, so there is little difference in the views of the Stevenson and Eisenhower supporters on basic objectives in this field.

Optimists may argue that the civil-rights plank represents a shadow-thin improvement over the 1948 statement, but it is utterly misleading to herald the adoption of the 1952 plank, as one liberal Democratic newspaper did, with the headline: "Dixie Yells Fade Before His-

toric Civil Rights Plank." In actual fact, the civil-rights fight in the convention had an almost calculated phoniness about it. After listening to no end of brave words and thunderous phrases from the civil-righters, the convention voted to seat seventy Dixiecrat delegates from Texas and Mississippi, adopted a weak "loyalty" pledge, and then, having voted not to seat the Dixiecrat delegations from Louisiana, South Carolina, and Virginia, proceeded to seat them in a way that implied an apology for the apparent discourtesy. The smiles which Governor Byrnes, Battle, and Kennon wore on Friday morning may have been a little brighter than the occasion warranted, but they were smiles of victory all the same.

Leaders of the liberal wing of the Democratic Party should have foreseen the need for unity on a platform, a strategy, and a candidate. In an editorial in the issue of April 5—Mr. Truman Steps Aside—*The Nation* pointed out that the liberal wing of the party would have to regain the initiative or be routed by a fusion of Northern and Southern conservatives. Writing in the *New York Times*, William M. Blair said of the caucus, "The difficulty was that there was no rallying point, such as agreement on a candidate," while Senator Humphrey told the caucus, "There is no use denying that Farley and the Dixiecrats gave us a trouncing." The nomination of Senator Sparkman was part of this trouncing, and it may well prove to have been a costly mistake. Despite a good voting record on many issues Mr. Sparkman is not the kind of candidate who will arouse much enthusiasm among Negro voters. It now appears that Governor Stevenson merely approved the selection. Why, then, did the liberal bloc approve it? If labor had enough power to block the nomination of Barkley, why did it approve the selection of Sparkman, who voted for the Taft-Hartley act and against the Fair Labor Standards Act?

THE movement of power in both conventions was toward the center. Since there is no organized "left" opposition in either party, the left-of-center forces in both—Senators Morse and Ives in the Republican; Senators Moody, Humphrey, and Lehman in the Democratic—had to make painful concessions to the right. But in the drift toward the center the extreme right wing of both parties was overridden if not vanquished. The Hoover-Taft-MacArthur elements were pushed aside in the Republican Party, and the Byrd-Battle-Byrnes elements were set right on the realities of power in the Democratic Party.

The eclipse of the extreme right in both parties was symbolic, not decisive. The right-wingers were first humiliated, then embraced; in the last analysis they were snubbed. The fact is that both extreme groups are hopelessly "dated" and therefore less powerful than they appear to be. Thanks to seniority, a skilful use of patron-

age, and an ability to appeal to local prejudices, they still retain great strength in Congress; but they are far behind "the people"—the national electorate—in their political thinking. The best Taft could do in Chicago was to present his ritualistic indictment of Roosevelt's 1936 program; Senator Russell Long of Louisiana demonstrated that events have left the Byrneses and the Shiverses of the party stranded in a stagnant backwater which will soon be a dry lake. Being passé, the Taftites are no more prepared to bolt the Republican Party and join forces with the Dixiecrats than the latter are prepared to leave the Democrats for a coalition third party. Since neither of these dissident groups has any place to go between now and November, they are more likely to be guilty of covert treachery than of overt acts of sedition.

While the nominations of the two major parties have not directly improved the outlook for realignment, it may well be that the Republican-Dixiecrat coalition has been weakened. In the South a new Republican element is emerging which threatens one-party rule there more directly than any possible defection of Dixiecrats from the Democratic Party. In much the same way, a new element in the Southern Democrats is seeking to remove the Bourbons from power. In retrospect, Kefauver's campaign against Senator Russell in Florida and the refusal of the Republicans to seat Taft's handpicked delegations from the South may be cited as significant turning points in the struggle to establish a two-party system in the region.

If this is true, it may be noted with some irony that the beginning of the end of one-party rule in the South coincided with the emergence of new majorities in both parties which are in basic agreement on most issues. The Republican majority represents an older middle class, one occupying a somewhat higher income-tax bracket than its Democratic counterpart. The differences are of degree, not of kind: the Democratic majority that nominated Stevenson is surely not much less conservative than the Republican majority that nominated Eisenhower. Will the winner become the captive of his more conservative supporters? Will either nominee, if elected, be able to cope with the Republican-Dixiecrat coalition that rules Congress? Behind Eisenhower stands Taft; behind Stevenson, Byrd.

But just as the choice of Eisenhower and Stevenson produced an audible sigh of relief in Europe, so most Americans should be able to find some small measure of satisfaction in the fact that both parties have nominated men of reason and good-will. This satisfaction would be increased if the two candidates would join in an emphatic repudiation of political smears and denunciations, of purges and witch hunts. Will one repudiate McCarthy and the other McCarran? If they act jointly, neither will suffer any disadvantage, and future generations will bless them both.

Adlai Was Available

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Chicago

THE Democratic convention was superficially a much more complicated affair than the Republican. Whereas the Republicans had a straight two-man fight, the Democrats seemed to be divided into countless factions. There were six Dixie delegations snorting defiance and threatening to bolt if a civil-rights plank were stuffed down their throats. They hated Harry Truman, the labor leaders, the "radical" New Yorkers and Minnesotans. There was the "moderate" or non-bolting South—but the moderates didn't want their sister states thrown out. There was the "liberal coalition" of Averell Harriman, Senator Kefauver, Senator Humphrey, and Senator Moody, which was willing to combine on platform and rules but not on a candidate. There were favorite sons by the handful—Governors and Senators waiting for a place, and a time, to transfer their votes. Yet underneath the turmoil, the delegates were pretty clear about their eventual landing place. They were going to pick Governor Stevenson of Illinois unless he announced, early enough, a Sherman-like refusal to accept.

Some of the factions did not like it. Senator Kefauver muttered of a "boss-selected" nominee and a "synthetic draft," and the bitterness of his camp increased as the week went on. The labor leaders felt that Stevenson's understanding of the Taft-Hartley law was, to say the least, incomplete. From the Southern point of view he had followed a middle-of-the-road course: he had been for "states' rights" unless they turned into "states' wrongs," in which case he "presumed" the federal government would have to "do something." But there was an overriding feeling among the majority of delegates that Stevenson was a man of stature, a new political force with great thrust and persuasiveness.

Where else could they turn? Russell of Georgia was a sectional candidate and nothing more. Kerr of Oklahoma was less than that. Harriman of New York had made a remarkable last-minute campaign; he had served as a rallying-point for Northern New Dealers, but he was too rich and politically too inexperienced to do more. Kefauver had the largest committed bloc of delegates and the prestige of his winning primary campaigns, but against him was the attitude of the White House, the venomous hatred of Northern city bosses, and the equally vindictive malice of his fellow-Southerners, who considered him a "traitor to the South" for his refusal to participate in Senate filibusters. The delegates were ready for Stevenson when he made his opening-day address of welcome. His speech confirmed the conviction of the

majority that here was a man of no ordinary talents, a man of intellect, of humility, of courage, of rare capacity to clothe ideas in striking language.

Thereafter only five questions remained: On what ballot would Stevenson be nominated? Who would seize credit for shifting the votes to put him over—the New Deal North or the conservative pro-Russell South? What kind of platform would be written, particularly on civil rights and the Senate filibuster rule? What would be done about the six Southern states that threatened to force a retreat on civil rights or to nominate another Dixiecrat, or Eisenhower, as the "Democratic" candidate in their states? Who would be the vice-presidential nominee?

TO GO back to the beginning: for the liberal-labor forces the first convention crisis came when it was discovered that an effort would be made, with at least some White House backing, to unite the delegates around Vice-President Barkley. Editorial columns were filled with abuse of the "cruel" union chieftains who told the President and then Barkley himself that at seventy-four he was "too old." But had the convention actually nominated Barkley, its action would inevitably have been interpreted as a confession that the party expected defeat and had chosen him to serve as trustee in bankruptcy.

The union leaders, moreover, were as little "cruel" as circumstances permitted. They were appalled when they discovered that in addition to telling the White House they would have to tell the "Veep" face to face. They assured him that they loved and respected him but they could not support him for the single reason of his age. And when Barkley in his first disappointment lashed out at them as "self-anointed political labor leaders," committed to some other candidate through whom they could better "control" the party machinery, they spoke soft words in reply. They had said nothing whatever about "commitments" through which they could better hope to control the party. What they had said was that Barkley's candidacy had been announced very late and that some individuals among them had previously made individual commitments to either Kefauver or Harriman. All through the convention their word was that any one of three candidates would be "acceptable" to them—Kefauver, Harriman, or Stevenson.

One other fact motivated the union leaders—one which they did not mention to the "Veep." The Barkley candidacy was being used, they suspected with good reason, as a front behind which conservatives hoped to

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regain control of the party. It is not clear that Truman knew exactly what was being done by a foursome made up of White House Secretary Matt Connelly, Democratic Committee Chairman Frank McKinney, the New Deal-hating James A. Farley, and Senate Secretary Leslie Biddle. But labor had no reason to trust this group of key Barkleyites: they feared "deals" for a conservative vice-presidential nominee or a backtracking platform or both. So they went out to stop Barkley, and thereby stopped Messrs. Connelly, McKinney, Farley, and Biddle.

Before the convention some Washington observers theorized that the White House was in no mood for compromise with the Dixiecrats, that it considered the vote of the Negroes and other minority groups in the North more important to Democratic national success than the solid South and would not lift a finger to keep any "erring sisters" in the convention. This theory proved incorrect. As early as Tuesday the word came from Washington to find some method of compromise, if possible, so that the Truman-hating states of Virginia, South Carolina, and Louisiana would not be driven from the convention. House Speaker Sam Rayburn, as permanent chairman, used all his power and prestige to this end, finally getting the needed votes from Illinois.

To this reporter it seemed that the "liberal coalition" headed by Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr., Senator Moody, Senator Humphrey, and Senator Kefauver scored some successes. Their first achievement was to split the six Southern states that had arrogantly threatened to bolt. Adoption of the Moody rule on Monday night forced Governor Shivers of Texas and Governor White of Mississippi to give satisfactory assurances to the Credentials Committee. As for the fire-eating Georgians, they decided they had better sign the "Moody pledge" if they wanted any consideration for their candidate, Russell. When Senator Long of Louisiana refused to bolt, Virginia and South Carolina were further isolated. When Governor Battle of Virginia pointed out that Virginia law required placing the national nominees on the ticket and the convention accepted this statement as "substantial compliance" with the Moody pledge, South Carolina was left alone.

Of course Virginia can still change its law. The Moody "loyalty" resolution was watered down before Texas, Mississippi, and Senator Long would accept it. The convention delegations of the six states still have to "report back" to their state ruling bodies, and the bloody-shirt-wavers may still bolt to Eisenhower or a plain Dixiecrat. The angry Harriman-Kefauver forces, at their early Friday morning strategy meeting, ranted at their "betrayal" by Illinois. (The Governor had promptly authorized a

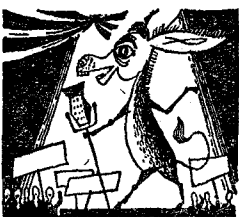
statement that he had had nothing personally to do with the Illinois shift.)

Hubert Humphrey finally had sense enough to point out that if the liberal North did not "break" to Stevenson, the Governor's eventual nomination might come from the Russell forces. Harriman, who had wanted Stevenson originally and never wavered in his conviction that Kefauver was insufficiently experienced and tested for the Presidency, prepared to shift New York; the C. I. O. Political Action Committee issued a statement expressing hope that its delegates, after fulfilling their honorable "commitments," would shift to Stevenson. Governor Dever was always ready to shift his favorite—Massachusetts votes to Stevenson at the proper moment. Michigan's powerful delegation, after a moment of frightfulness when it swung forty votes to Kefauver toward the close of the first ballot, also was ready to take Stevenson.

NO ONE can be wholly satisfied with the Democratic platform. On Tidelands oil, for example, it is silent. It does not indorse national health insurance, although it speaks respectfully of the President's new commission on the nation's health needs, which presumably will come up with something better than the nothing we now have. Without specifically indorsing the Brannan plan—which the Republican platform denounced by name—it calls attention to the perishable crops that bring farmers three-quarters of their cash income and advocates putting them under price guaranties, which is exactly what the Brannan plan attempted.

The civil-rights plank and anti-filibuster plan are quibbles. The North had to omit the adjective "enforceable" in describing the F. E. P. C. law and substitute a mere promise that measures should be "effective." Senator Lehman and Walter Reuther had told the platform committee that any civil-rights plank would be meaningless without a direct assault on the Senate filibuster rule. At the urging of Senator Sparkman, all mention of the filibuster rule was removed from the civil-rights section and transferred to a section on "strengthening Democratic government." The plank "urges" that the Eighty-third Congress "at the beginning" try to "improve Congressional procedures so that majority rule prevails and decisions can be made after reasonable debate without being blocked by a minority of either house." This reporter is skeptical that the South will support any such program in Congress, where it is relatively much stronger than in a Democratic convention.

The civil-rights program at least did not retreat from the 1948 platform that sparked the four-state Dixiecrat Presidential campaign. It asserts that all citizens have equal "rights" guaranteed them by the Constitution and that these rights include security of person, equal participation in political life, and equal opportunity for em-



ployment. If they are to be secured, there must be an anti-lynching law, an anti-poll-tax law, an F. E. P. C. law. The real question is whether the Democrats have found leadership that can translate the promises to actuality.

The choice of Sparkman as vice-presidential nominee is an arguable one. Walter White, of the N. A. A. C. P., says it will be "hard" for Northern Negroes to swallow a Southern filibusterer. The common phrase went that Northern Negroes would only want to know one thing about Sparkman—that he is from Alabama. Without engaging in prophecy, one may note that if anybody votes for or against a major-party ticket primarily because of the vice-presidential nominee, something new will have been added to American politics.

This reporter does know that Sparkman is no Throttle-bottom but a spokesman for constructive forward-looking Southern liberalism. Labor's League for Political Education, an arm of the A. F. of L., listed him as having voted or been paired correctly on every 1951 key issue. So did Americans For Democratic Action. The C. I. O. *News* listed him as right on every issue on which he voted or was paired. He was wrong in 1950 on the Kerr natural gas bill, but apparently that was because of a pledge he had given Southwesterners in return for their support of his middle-income housing bill. He has always been wrong on civil rights. No one who knows him, however, has ever heard him say an extreme word about the race problem.

The real ticket and platform are Stevenson. The question is whether this apparently remarkable man stands up as well between now and November as he has during the anxious months since he "refused the crown" at President Truman's hands. Kefauver's charge that Stevenson was a "boss-selected" candidate backfired because nobody paid any attention. The "bosses" did not even have a headquarters for Stevenson: The volunteer "Stevenson for President" committee was headed by Leo Lerner, an anti-boss Chicago Democrat, and Walter Johnson, head of the University of Chicago History Department, author, idealist, and liberal. Their meetings took place in the law office of Representative Sydney Yates, a Chicago liberal of quality and brains. There was no "synthetic" draft but a genuine one, with just enough organization to keep it from being witless and to provide a structure which delegates could climb aboard when the time came.

Stevenson is not, as he may think, a "free man." He made no deals and is beholden to no politician, but he is the heir of the New Deal and Fair Deal and he cannot turn his back upon them. The men of the Roosevelt-Truman era are passing from the stage. Stevenson represents the new era in the sense that a new generation must now move ahead to meet its own problems—the cold war, the revolutionary flame spreading through Asia and Africa, America's own demand for a richer and more fruitful democracy.

Whooping It Up for Adam Smith

BY HAROLD V. KNIGHT

AN OBSCURE denominational college in the Southwest may well be exerting a greater influence on the economic thinking of the American people than most of our great universities. Drop into a movie house anywhere, or into a women's-club meeting or a Main Street lecture hall, or pick up a small-town weekly newspaper, and you are likely to be introduced to hoary economic theories adapted to modern use by the sage of Harding College, at Searcy (population 4,000), Arkansas.

This once-struggling Church of Christ (Campbellite) institution, dedicated to him who drove the money changers from the temple, is now spending a million dollars on a National Education Program designed to prove that free enterprise is the only true religion and Adam Smith its prophet. Not surprisingly, the sage of Harding, in his pursuit of what he considers to be the

great American ideal, has run afoul of the National Labor Relations Board, which has just warned the college that it must not tamper with the efforts of certain of its employees to join the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (A. F. of L.).

Harding's sage is its president, George Stuart Benson, who took over the institution in 1937 when few had heard of it except a handful of devoted evangelists and a number of tradesmen and others to whom it owed sums totaling \$75,000. As late as 1944, according to the *Saturday Evening Post*, Benson's salary as president was listed as \$1,800 a year. But a few years later the Associated Press reported that Benson's life had been insured for one million dollars at an annual premium of \$16,500. Who is paying this premium? And who is paying for the Harding College million-dollar National Education Program? A study of Benson's career reveals a few facts, suggests a few more; the rest is shrouded in mystery.

Benson graduated from Harding in 1926, when the

HAROLD V. KNIGHT is a free-lance journalist in Colorado.

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college was at Morrilton, Arkansas. After eleven years as a missionary in China he returned to assume its presidency. He first gained national prominence in 1941, when he appeared before a Congressional committee in Washington—newsmen described him as “an unknown witness from a small town in Arkansas”—and stirred his audience with an impassioned plea for government economy. “I understand that professionals are employed [by the government] to prepare radio scripts and movie films,” he declared, “and that the most luxurious types of publicity are included. If our colleges used such luxuries we could not educate two boys for the cost of keeping one boy in the Civilian Conservation Corps.”

Nevertheless, what he saw in Washington must have made a profound impression on the economy-minded clergyman from Arkansas. On his return he called together a group of Little Rock business men and, according to a witness, told them in effect: “Certain influential men in the East have offered me \$100,000 to carry on an educational program on a national scale. I want you to raise \$5,000 for my college so that I can be relieved of responsibility in that direction and devote all my time to the national program.”

IN the following years Benson learned two things: that it is much easier to raise money by whooping it up for Adam Smith than for the Old Testament; and that movies and similar “luxurious types of publicity” are reprehensible only when the other fellow indulges in them. Today his National Education Program—that is its official title—encompasses the following activities:

1. Distribution of a weekly column by Benson to an estimated 2,500 weeklies, metropolitan dailies, house organs, and trade journals. Typical of Benson's philosophy is his complaint, in a recent column, that a secretary left her private employer to join the civil service because the pay was better and vacation and sick-leave provisions were more generous. “If these unwholesome conditions are not corrected very soon,” writes Benson, “the federal pay roll will begin to swallow up American prosperity and progress.”
2. Distribution of the Harding Monthly Letter, based on Benson's weekly column, to 40,000 individuals and organizations.
3. A weekly transcribed radio program entitled *The Land of the Free*, which dramatizes the life story of Americans in Horatio Alger terms and is carried on 364 radio stations in all the forty-eight states as sustaining or sponsored programs.
4. The preparation of visual-education material, such as the so-called “flannelgraph,” which according to Harding College publicity enables even amateurs to give illustrated talks.
5. The Freedom Forum, an annual week-long confer-

ence which brings together on the Harding College campus about 150 representatives of industry and business. A pamphlet describing a recent forum reports the presence of C. I. O. and other union spokesmen, though no representatives of organized labor appeared on the program. However, numerous spokesmen for industry, notably personnel directors, discussed how to put management's story across to the workers.

6. Production of technicolor cartoon movies expounding the free-enterprise philosophy in a semi-humorous vein. Costing from \$80,000 to \$100,000 each, the films have been made possible by grants to Harding College from the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation. Up to the end of 1950 these grants had totaled \$597,870. An additional

\$75,000 for the film program has been provided by the Maurice and Laura Falk Foundation of Pittsburgh.

The films, of high professional quality, are first distributed by Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer to 10,000 movie houses throughout the country in ordinary commercial fashion. After having been seen by an estimated 25,000,000 persons, they are released in sixteen-millimeter size for showings to



George Stuart Benson

industrial concerns, schools, civic organizations, and similar groups. They are lent free of charge or sold for \$125 a print.

Naturally, the films are not labeled propaganda for free enterprise or the profit system, or for anything else. They are presented as pure entertainment. The most recent cartoon, “Why Play Leapfrog?” tells how Joe, a worker in a doll factory, invents a new technique which earns him a raise and makes everybody happy—including the customer, who does not have to pay more for the doll. Wage increases are justified, the movie warns, only when they do not raise the price of the product. In another cartoon Dr. Ism comes to an untimely end trying to sell Utopia tonic to labor, management, and farmers; in another we see the calamitous things that happen in Eggville when Dr. Hoot introduces “planning” among the feathered residents. Scheduled for early production are films on taxes, inflation, and profits.

Benson's National Educational Program has developed into a major enterprise, and thousands of dollars are being poured into films, radio, and other propaganda media; yet Harding College, according to George Smokey, a former Harding professor, somehow can't find the money to pay long overdue salaries to some of its own faculty members. Commenting on other aspects of the Benson regime, Mr. Smokey said:

Until recently Harding loudly championed religious fundamentalism. An appeal to sectarianism will move but a limited number. The objects of spite need but be changed to attract a larger number. Dr. Benson's method is simplicity itself: all his outcries follow the same pattern, whether he is fulminating against other denominations or against members of political parties, as he finds it profitable to do today. He has a new object

to attack, but he uses the old methods commingled with camp-meeting histrionics. Hard-boiled business men succumb to emotional appeals when cleverly made. Benson's lingo is tailored to appeal to the high-class trade.

Benson's title of "doctor," by the way, accrues to him by virtue of an honorary Doctor of Laws degree granted him by—you've guessed it—Harding College.

Democracy in the Andes

BY WILLIAM ROSENBERG

EARLY last April the thin air of La Paz, 12,000 feet above sea level, crackled with gunfire, and the latest Bolivian revolution got under way. After a few days the government forces admitted defeat. Between 1,000 and 3,000 persons had been killed in the bloodiest clash in recent Bolivian history. Soon Victor Paz Estenssoro, leader of the National Revolutionary Movement (M. N. R.), returned from six years of exile and assumed the Presidency.

Almost his first official act was the announcement that he would appoint a commission to prepare for nationalization of the tin mines owned by the Patiño, Hochschild, and Aramayo groups, the "Big Three." Attention was thus focused at once on the question of tin, which is in fact the key to recent developments in Bolivia.

When the modern state of Bolivia was created by the men who liberated the region from Spanish rule, an ethnic and economic unity which had existed for centuries was broken up. This initiated a long decline, with the result that the area which had led the continent in civilization, population, and wealth became one of the most backward. The decline was sharply accelerated when the weakened country was deprived of its seacoast by Chile. Today 85 per cent of the population of 3,500,000 is engaged in subsistence farming, follows the old customs, and speaks only the ancient tongues, Aymara and Quechua. Most of the rest of the people live, directly or indirectly, from the export of tin ores. The subsistence agriculture does not suffice to feed the cities, which must import necessities with the proceeds from the sale of tin.

The educated Bolivian, aware of his country's former greatness and present backwardness, has developed a proud and hostile nationalism. The disastrous Chaco war against Paraguay in the thirties intensified this feeling and made possible the brief but spectacular career of President Germán Busch. Busch's militant national-

ism antagonized the outside world but made him a hero in Bolivia.

The M. N. R. clearly derives its strength from the nationalistic tradition. It aspires to be the party of the Indian and the voice of the submerged 85 per cent, whom it proposes to educate away from their centuries-long habit of scratching the soil for a bare livelihood and set to work to tap the virtually untouched natural resources of the country. In order to get the funds for this program, and to free the people from the political domination of the tin interests, it intends to nationalize the tin mines. It is suspicious of anything that smacks of foreign interference but will welcome the aid of foreign capital and know-how.

Observers outside Bolivia have fallen into the error of assuming that the M. N. R. is unique in its nationalism, its social planning, and its hostility to the tin interests. Actually these attitudes are claimed by all the parties, being essential to political success in Bolivia today. The M. N. R., not unnaturally, has welcomed and perpetuated the delusion that the opposition has other aims; the opposition has done nothing to correct the error abroad but has stubbornly attacked it at home.

The M. N. R. carries on a continuous campaign against the "Rosca"—that is, the coalition of "vested interests"—which supposedly consists of the hirelings of the tin interests and the feudal landholders. Probably the Rosca, or a reasonable facsimile of it, once existed, but events of recent years show that it is either dead or impotent. Moreover, a box score of laws directed against the tin interests would show that such legislation is passed whether the M. N. R. is in power or not. The most that can be said for the M. N. R. is that it is the only party with an unequivocal program and the only one which has succeeded in becoming identified with that program.

The M. N. R. participated in the coalition government of President Gualberto Villarroel, which was established in December, 1934, by a military coup, and Paz Estenssoro served as Minister of Finance. Despite grow-

WILLIAM ROSENBERG was secretary and vice-consul at the American embassy in La Paz in 1943-45.

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ing differences between the military and the M. N. R., the government remained in power until July, 1946, when a teachers' strike for higher wages led to street riots which developed, apparently spontaneously, into a revolution. The violence culminated in the hanging and



Victor Paz Estenssoro

mutilation of President Villaruel by a mob and the escape of Paz Estenssoro and others into exile.

Disillusioned by the outcome of their advent to power by the easy but treacherous road of alliance with the army, the M. N. R. leaders now started a vigorous campaign of political education. This was a new and truly revolutionary idea, for traditionally elections served merely to indorse

the party in the saddle, and power changed hands only by military coup. The effort bore fruit in the presidential election of May, 1951. Campaigning from exile, Paz Estenssoro received 45 per cent of the total vote of 120,000, a clear plurality. (The smallness of the vote is explained by the high rate of illiteracy and the lack of woman suffrage.) Since no candidate gained a majority, the President was supposed to be chosen by the new Congress from among the three candidates in the lead, and it was a foregone conclusion that Paz Estenssoro would win. But a military junta headed by General Hugo Ballivián deposed the incumbent President Urriolagoitia without firing a shot, and the new Congress never met. Far from denouncing this violation of constitutional procedure, President Urriolagoitia gave the coup his blessing and said that it was "maintaining democratic traditions." The revolution which swept Paz Estenssoro into power in April was the natural reaction.

THE Villaruel government had passed various measures to ameliorate the lot of peasant and worker. It had not moved to nationalize the tin mines because the uninterrupted production of tin was of critical importance to the United States. (With Malaya and Indonesia in Japanese hands Bolivia was practically our sole source of ore.) Apart from all other considerations, including Bolivia's obligation to cooperate in the war effort, it was clear that the United States would not stand idly by while nationalization was attempted. Today the United States has a stockpile of tin and is purchasing freely in Malaya and Indonesia. Virtually no tin has been shipped from Bolivia in almost a year, partly because of diffi-

culties imposed by the Urriolagoitia government in efforts to curry favor with the voters, and partly because of a deadlock in price negotiation with the Reconstruction Finance Corporation: the R. F. C. has offered approximately \$1.18 per pound; the Bolivians insist they must get about \$1.50, because of increased costs.

On the domestic front the M. N. R. is in a firm position at this moment. It is no longer, as it was in 1943-46, the junior member of a coalition government. The conditions for nationalization are therefore as auspicious now as they are likely to be in the foreseeable future. Several considerations, however, favor a go-slow policy. The M. N. R. could consolidate its present position by renewing the export of tin and thus bringing back prosperity, but it could scarcely do this if it attempted the total reorganization of the industry. The operation of tin mines requires technical know-how, and the present operators could withdraw the technicians. Moreover, the operators—particularly the Patiño group, which also has extensive holdings in the Far East—can freeze Bolivia out of the world market simply by keeping the price below the break-even point for Bolivia. Bolivian production costs are high because Bolivian ores must be mined, whereas the ores in Malaya and Indonesia are found in alluvial deposits and are recovered much more readily. Before the Second World War, the tin cartel set production quotas and fixed the price high enough to keep Bolivia in the market and give very handsome profits to the low-cost producers in the Far East.

With this situation in mind, the commission on nationalization will undoubtedly make an effort to reach an amicable agreement with the Big Three mine owners. Presumably such an agreement, while based on formal nationalization, would include compensation for the owners and some arrangement by which they would act as stewards of the mines and keep the technical management in their hands. Whether a satisfactory formula can be devised depends in large measure on the mine owners. They will find Paz Estenssoro forthright, firm, and reasonable. The forty-four-year-old economist sizes up a situation rapidly and communicates his decision directly. Unlike most Latin American politicians, he does not say "yes" just to be polite when the "yes" may mean anything from yes to maybe to no. He can change his mind when the facts warrant, but he does not change with every shift of the wind.

The mine owners are aware that no important political faction in Bolivia is really friendly to them. The utmost they could hope to get from any anti-M. N. R. group would be a slower pace of change; the political realities of the country are such that they cannot expect a reversal of the direction of change. If they consent to deal with the M. N. R. they will at least have the advantage of dealing with principals. The M. N. R. is

the only organization which has sufficient popular backing to make concessions and then win their acceptance by the country. If the owners can reconcile themselves to the idea that ultimate nationalization is inevitable, and negotiate to salvage what they can, they may accomplish a good deal. They have some strong bargaining points.

In trying to free the Indian from the shackles of ignorance and apathy the M. N. R. will have a long,

hard road to follow. Its moral position is weakened by the fact that it has not scrupled to play the game of power politics when occasion offered. But it does appear that a grass-roots movement has started in Bolivia which may ultimately prove more important than the ups and downs of any one party. Bolivia may at long last be on the road to progress and enlightenment; it may yet catch up with the twentieth century.

The Passing of "Red" Hynes

BY HANNAH BLOOM

Los Angeles
ON A November morning in 1932 Theodore Dreiser arrived in Hollywood for a lecture engagement and promptly announced that he would "punch Red Hynes in the nose if he tries to stop me from speaking here." The challenge was directed at Police Captain William F. Hynes, whose death here on May 17 recalled the city's fifteen-year subjection to him and his police Red squad.

Hynes's career is of interest because he was one of the first of the mercenaries in the crusade against "communism." He joined the Los Angeles police force in 1921 after seven years in the army. An eight months' apprenticeship as under-cover agent in the I. W. W. practically clinched his future career; on his return to regular service he was assigned to the Red squad and there found ample opportunities for his talents.

By 1933 Hynes had graduated with honors from the rough-house school of law enforcement. He perfected the use of the pitched battle and adapted it to political meetings, strikes, picket lines, and demonstrations against the conditions of the depression era. The Red squad started out that year by dispersing five hundred hunger marchers with tear gas and arresting twelve of the demonstrators. Two weeks later the squad suppressed a "fierce riot" of another hungry contingent demanding food and aid at the offices of the county Bureau of Charities. "Desk, chairs, and windows," the press reported, "were smashed, inkwells hurled, heads clubbed, and lips cracked." Hynes offered to produce "documentary proof that the entire disturbance was inspired by Communists."

Next Hynes led the Red squad and some members of the American Legion in a raid on the Hollywood John Reed Club. This was the cause of a celebrated bout in the City Hall. Prompted by the insistent demand of Attor-

ney Leo Gallagher for an immediate public hearing, a meeting was held in the City Council chambers. The Council president adjourned the meeting and ordered the room cleared. Then Hynes and his squad took over. According to newspaper accounts, a "wild battle" followed, the participants "hurling spittoons, biting, and swinging clubs and fists." The fracas has been described in detail in a pamphlet, "Fifteen Years on Freedom's Front," by Dr. Clinton J. Taft, then director of the local American Civil Liberties Union:

Although I had sat quietly on the front seat and had taken no part in the meeting, Hynes singled me out and rained blow after blow on my back as I went up the center aisle toward the exit, remarking as he did so: "Get out of here; you are back of all this!" ... Mr. Gallagher was not so fortunate. He was struck in the face and had his glasses smashed. Then, as he left the City Hall ... he was pursued by four plainclothesmen, dragged back into a small room in the building, and given a terrible beating.

The next day Hynes told the City Council he had instructed his men "never to use force until resisted." But, he added, "when the fight does start, I don't want them to get hurt. I don't want to see them on the floor. I want to see the Communists on the floor." Describing his job as "tough" and "unpopular," Hynes summed up his lifework: "Some of us have to be cops," he said.

The success of the raid on the John Reed Club encouraged Hynes to team up again with the American Legion a month later. The Board of Education had granted permission, over Hynes's and the Legion's protests, for a meeting of the Friends of the Soviet Union in the auditorium of the Polytechnic High School. As the chairman started to address the audience, the lights went off, tear gas was let loose, and the Red squad and a group of legionnaires stamped down the aisles. Hynes then appeared on the stage and ordered the chairman to dismiss the meeting.

Hynes took a leave of absence from the force the next

HANNAH BLOOM writes frequently for The Nation about events on the civil-liberties front in California.

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year. He described his policeman's holiday to the La Follette Committee on the Rights of Labor at its hearings in Los Angeles in 1940. During part of 1934 and 1935, he testified, he "rendered services to various groups throughout the state," advising them on the "proper protection of their property, employees, things of that nature." He was employed in "an advisory capacity" during labor strikes by the Los Angeles Railway, the Associated Farmers of California, the Furniture Manufacturers' Association, the Cabinet Store Manufacturers' Association, and other offshoots of the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association. The work had its compensations for a man on a patrolman's salary. For one stint of five months he was paid \$50 a day. In a divorce suit filed in 1936 his wife estimated his bank deposits at \$40,000.

FEELING that he had struck a bonanza in "labor relations," Hynes made strike duty a specialty when he returned to the police force. A slush fund paid him and his squad extra money for policing a strike though they were on the city pay roll all the time. For expenses incurred during the 1936 garment-industry strike—"luncheons or dinners or extra details"—Hynes received \$769.50 from the Southern California Garment Manufacturers' Association. The association secretary explained to the La Follette committee, "We probably figured we might stand in their good graces a bit more." Hynes informed the committee that his system was "optional" for employers. In the garment strike, he said, "a great many militant Communists were involved" who required "special handling." "In other strikes it was the same way. If they became so violent they had to be manhandled, we had no hesitancy in handling them." He insisted, however, that the money received for these services was distributed among the whole squad.

By the mid-1920's convictions were difficult to obtain under California's criminal-syndicalism law, but it remained a favorite device of the Red squad. When the law was invoked to prevent James W. Ford, the Communist candidate for Vice-President in 1932, from delivering a radio address, the Methodist Ministers' Association accused Hynes of "brutality, violating the Constitution, and attempting to build up a fascist dictatorship." Hynes, given a chance to answer the charges, pointed to Dr. Edward P. Ryland, the minister who prepared them, and retorted: "Who is Ryland to tell you we are violating the Constitution? He's no lawyer!" The Red squad used a city anti-handbill ordinance even after it had been declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. Citing the court decision, three newspapermen protested their arrest for distributing literature pertaining to the *Citizen-News* strike of 1938 and were told by a Hynes disciple, "You'll learn pretty soon that the Supreme Court isn't running Los Angeles."

However, the courts forced Hynes to obey the laws on a few occasions. The American Civil Liberties Union obtained small judgments against him for illegal search and entry and some injunctions preventing police interference with meetings. His efforts to deport undesirables were also sometimes blocked. Hynes was a frequent government witness in deportation cases, and while government agents have denied that he had any official connection with the FBI, friends credit him with "obtaining the information that caused the deportation of literally hundreds of undesirables." But in two important cases the federal courts were not impressed by Hynes's information. In the majority opinion in *Schneiderman v. United States*, Justice Murphy cited Hynes's admission that "he never attempted a philosophic analysis of the literature he read but only read it to secure evidence, reading and underscoring those portions which in his opinion 'had to do with force or violence or overthrowing this system of government other than by lawful means provided in the Constitution.'" In another case Hynes's testimony that he had no doubt "but what the Communist Party is the party which believes in, teaches, and advocates the overthrow of the government . . . by force and violence" was regarded as insufficient evidence to justify deportation.

Hynes remained a constant source of pride to the Los Angeles *Times*, the M. and M., the Chamber of Commerce, the Better American Federation, the American Legion, and the city fathers, who envisioned Los Angeles as "the citadel of the open shop." These powerful forces could easily nullify the effects of unfavorable court decisions. Shortly after Municipal Judge Joseph L. Call awarded a judgment against Hynes and blasted the practices of officers "acting under bigoted conceptions of their own power and . . . under coercion of organized groups," a grand jury exonerated Hynes of brutality charges and complimented the entire police department for "the efficient manner in which the Communist menace has been met in Los Angeles." A director of the Better America Federation was the jury foreman.

Hynes's career ended abruptly in 1938 with the election of Mayor Fletcher Bowron on a reform ticket. The Red squad was abolished, and Hynes was assigned to a west-side beat eighteen miles from City Hall. Shorn of his honorary captaincy, he was limited for the next five years to routine activities, occasionally brightened by appearance at deportation hearings and Congressional investigations. He retired from the police force in 1943 and until his death last spring at the age of fifty-five worked at odd jobs, as a private bodyguard or as security officer at an aircraft plant. He appeared briefly at the House Un-American Activities Committee hearings in Los Angeles last fall. Apparently baffled by the formality and refinement of the proceedings, he roamed around the hearing room looking for old friends.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

TAKING THE MYSTERY OUT OF POLITICS

BY H. H. WILSON

THE great intrinsic interest of Samuel Lubell's "The Future of American Politics" (Harper, \$3.50) was increased for me by the fact that I read it while following the most thoroughly publicized national conventions in our history. But in any case I should have found Mr. Lubell's book a valuable and stimulating study of American political behavior. A former reporter, war correspondent, and assistant to Bernard Baruch and James F. Byrnes, now a freelance writer, Mr. Lubell has made effective use of our resources of political statistics, drawn upon all available studies of voting behavior, and added considerable research of his own. Though he generalizes about national behavior, his synthesis rests upon a solid foundation of election returns for more than three thousand counties, wards of major cities, and even precincts in selected areas. This has been reinforced by many months of intensive interviewing. The result is a refreshing study in which the customary platitudes have been discarded for a realistic discussion of ethnic, religious, economic, and class conflicts in American society and, in which, for the most part, contemporary political developments are skilfully charted.

Obviously there will be disagreement with some of the conclusions, reservations about the claim to have established a "new theory of political parties," regret that the analysis of voting behavior was not related directly to the operation of power in this society—especially since Mr. Lubell states cogently that the cold war has "transformed the American economy into a gigantic agency for the redistribution of our national income," with the result that "control of the government becomes a more glittering prize than ever." There will perhaps be rejection of what seem rather conservative overtones. There will undoubtedly be some surprise that in the treatment of forces shaping American

politics McCarthyism and the whole "loyalty" crusade are totally neglected. After all, we do have political figures, including the vice-presidential candidate of a major party, who have made careers on this issue alone. It is regrettable that Mr. Lubell did not elaborate his provocative analysis of the impact of the "urban frontier," perhaps relating it to David Riesman's hypothesis, expounded in "The Lonely Crowd," that the society of incipient population decline develops "other-directed" people, with all that this implies for political phenomena. None of this detracts from the value of a book which deserves a wide audience and should surely be considered by the prize committee of the Political Science Association.

Broadly this study provides an explanation of the Democratic domination which began in 1932 and is unlikely to be reversed, though it may be interrupted, in the foreseeable future. More important, throughout the book Mr. Lubell has created a sense of urgency by his conviction that the American political system is inadequate to handle the country's responsibilities. Both the New Deal and the Fair Deal have been primarily concerned with buying time. Neither administration has attempted to face up to the primary dilemma. It might be added that we are equipped in 1952 with a governmental structure which was deliberately designed by the Founding Fathers to prevent positive and effective action, and a party system which can select and elect candidates of sorts but is incapable of converting party politics into party government. As Professor Schattschneider has said, "The parties do badly the one thing that they might be expected to do with perfection: they fail to organize the nominees they have elected to office into an effective, cohesive team for the control of the government." Presidential leadership, which Lubell sees as the

only way national unity can be achieved, is stymied by urban-rural conflict reflected in the Congress and by the traditional Republican predilection for weak Presidents, which "stems from the fear that a strong executive might set himself up as a tribune of the people and curb the economic freedom of business."

IN TWELVE fascinating chapters uncluttered by the solid factual structure Mr. Lubell attempts "to take the mystery out of present-day American politics." Instead of relying on rumor and personality differences to explain American voting behavior, he has used statistical analysis. He believes that we are moving into a new political era and that a realignment of political parties is inevitable and presumably desirable. Among many forces operating to reorient our politics, he selects eight as decisive: the coming of age of urban minorities; the rise of a new middle class; the migration of the Negro and the resulting tension; the economic revolution in the South; the upheaval in world strategy; the changed relationship between the farm and the rural town; the growth of organized labor with a simultaneous "ebbing of labor's political vitality"; and the impact of the cold war on the welfare state.

Those who like to speculate about the United States as a "middle-class" society will find much stimulating, controversial material in this book. The chapters on The Revolt of the City and The Frontier Reappears should certainly be read in conjunction with C. Wright Mills's "White Collar." Perhaps most voters in the Democratic coalition have prospered, improved their social status, and to some degree become more conservative in the process, but they have tended to retain the political attitudes acquired in their struggle for this social and economic

status. In a sense these people have become the "new middle class" but have retained their Democratic loyalty, in contrast to the older Republican-rooted middle class. As Lubell observes, "what really separates these two middle classes is the factor of timing—of when each arrived at the state of middle-class blessedness." The new group never really experienced the freedom of an expanding economy and a "classless" society. They met more discrimination, suffered more from the economic depression, and learned that most of the obstacles they had to overcome were man-made. "Having achieved their gains in a period of expanding governmental authority, they are not as hostile to 'Big Government' as the older middle-class elements." Though Mr. Lubell believes the trend is toward the increasing middle-class orientation of American politics, the new middle class has goals, values, and ideology sufficiently distinct from the old to make the development of a "middle-class" political movement impossible. The result is, as Mills noted, that "both old and new middle classes become shock troops for other more powerful and articulate pressure blocs in the political scene."

Perhaps the most significant fact presaging the Democratic domination was that the 13,000,000 immigrants who came to this country between 1900 and 1914 stayed in the cities. The children of these immigrants bore the brunt of the depression and experienced the worst abuses of industrialism. For them Republican platitudes about "rugged individualism" and natural laws governing economics, or the presumed tradition of the independent farmer had no meaning. "A philosophy that called for 'leaving things alone' to work themselves out seemed either unreal or hypocritical in the cities. . . . The wage-earner had to look to the government to make sure that the milk bought for his baby was not watered or tubercular; he had to look to government to regulate the construction of tenements so all sunlight was not blocked out." Mr. Lubell concludes that even without the depression, the 1930's had to produce a Democratic era, for the issue between the parties was one of timeliness rather than one of conservatism versus liberalism. In fact, the true issue was the recognition by the Democrats of the

needs of a new segment of the American population. Not only were these immigrants and their children forced into the dirtiest jobs at subsistence wages, but they were segregated socially, largely ignored politically, and denied even the protection of labor unions. Urban America had become a class-structured society, and class bitterness existed long before Franklin Roosevelt. For a long time passive and submerged resentment had smoldered against the "old American" dominant class.

Even during the allegedly prosperous twenties the Republican vote in twelve of our largest cities was declining steadily. By 1928 the Republican plurality had become a slim Democratic plurality. Lubell concludes that "Smith's defeat in 1928, rather than Roosevelt's 1932 victory, marked off the arena in which today's politics are being fought." While Hoover carried some 200 Southern counties which had never voted Republican before, Smith won 122 Northern counties from the G. O. P. On the basis of detailed analysis of the city vote Lubell shows that Smith won the support of the new immigrants but failed to win the votes of the mainly Protestant native-born migrants from rural areas. "Between 1920 and 1930 more than 6,500,000 persons were drawn off the farms and hills; 4,500,000 came into New York, Chicago, Detroit, and Los Angeles alone." By 1936, and especially in 1935 when "more social legislation [was] enacted than in any other year in the nation's history," the New Deal program had welded these two urban groups together to give the Democrats the tremendous urban pluralities which enabled them to stay in office after 1940, when the war and the third-term issue cut into the rural vote.

THE DEMOCRATIC coalition consisted of four elements—the urban voters, immigrants and their children and rural migrants, Negroes, and the South. At the start of the depression these elements roughly constituted the "have-nots" in American society. This fact gave the coalition a deceptive appearance of unity and served to blur internal conflicts. Certainly since 1938 bitter conflicts have developed even within the ethnic wing. In fact, some of Lubell's most fascinating material

deals in sophisticated fashion with the political role of the new immigrants. The rise of the Italian Americans most dramatically illustrates this trend, but other minority groups are turning to political power to gain economic and social opportunity. While Irish domination of Tammany Hall was replaced by Italian American rule in 1947, the Kelly-Nash machine in Chicago was superseded by that of Jacob Arvey, a Jew; and a combination of Italian Americans, Polish Americans, and dissident Irish ended Frank Hague's Jersey City rule. Inevitably the repercussions of this power struggle are felt elsewhere, and Lubell comments that "the intensifying Irish-Italian feud which has accompanied this rise wracks not only the Catholic church, whose hierarchy in this country is mainly Irish. It rocks gangland, too," as revealed by "the struggle between James Pendergast and Charles Binaggio in Kansas City." In addition, as Italians, Poles, and Czechs have improved their status they have sought to limit Negro opportunities both in jobs and housing; witness the race riots in Cicero, Illinois. Despite this friction and Republican efforts to capitalize on it, the Negro vote, Mr. Lubell believes, has virtually solidified in the Democratic Party.

Conflict within the dominant coalition, according to Lubell's theory of American political parties, is inevitable, since "it is within the majority party that the issues of any particular period are fought out." However, he suggests that for the Democrats inflation has "become the breaking point." Ironically, "the very successes of the New Deal bring the elements in the Roosevelt coalition into increasing conflict with one another." Under conditions of full employment—and, presumably, high taxes—with inflation further aggravated by rearmament, "no new economic gains can be promised any group of Democrats without threatening the gains of other Democrats." It was this issue of inflation, incidentally, that in 1950 broke the pattern of voting according to economic status. All income levels were bitter about rising prices and the increase in the withholding tax.

Lubell does not conclude from this that the task of the Republicans is a simple one. For they too will have to

meet the issues plaguing the Democratic coalition. What are these problems? "Civil rights, how to balance the interests of the newly emergent labor power against those of the rest of society, the yearning for security against another depression, the hunger for social status of the climbing urban masses"—these are the issues which rack the Democratic Party. They also constitute part of the dilemma facing the Republican Party, which must not only win a Presidential election but transform itself if it is to become the dominant coalition. Diminishing the total potential Democratic vote will not be easy. As one element is pulled away, the remaining elements may be strengthened—for example, the Democrats' loss of the Dixiecrats in 1948 was counterbalanced by the gain in Negro votes. If Lubell is correct, Republicans cannot console themselves for the 1948 defeat by claiming that the Republicans did not vote. The available evidence indicates "that more former Roosevelt supporters failed to vote than Republicans, which may well have spared Dewey from being buried under an overwhelming landslide." However, Lubell says that Eisenhower has the strongest appeal among those sections of the urban middle class—the teachers, white-collar workers, small business men—which turned most sharply against Truman in 1948.

AFTER WHAT the New York *Times* euphemistically termed "clearly a people's victory" in the Republican convention, it is enlightening to read Lubell's appraisal of the Taft and Eisenhower forces. He shrewdly recognizes that "although foreign policy appears to be the most important issue of cleavage, the division between the supporters of General Eisenhower and Senator Taft runs much deeper." Eastern Republicans, as a result of the "revolt of the city," have had to adjust to the special and economic problems faced by urban voters. At the same time "Midwestern Republicans have had to emphasize issues which would preserve the anti-Roosevelt alliance of economic conservatives and one-time isolationists" because of their dependence on the rural vote. This conservative group, dominated by Senator Taft and Joe Martin, has largely controlled Congress through alliance

with Southern Democrats. The result has been that conventions, obliged to consider urban voters, have sought to avoid being tied to Republican performance in Congress and therefore selected Willkie, Dewey, and now Eisenhower for Presidential nominees. These men, however, have been unable to campaign either as "liberals" or "conservatives" because to do so would involve rejection or acceptance of the Republicans' Congressional record and split the party.

With the nomination of General Eisenhower it appears that the sophisticated conservatives have gained control. No one need be carried away by the notion that Eisenhower's nomination means the genuine "liberalizing" of the G. O. P. It may more appropriately be considered an example of the triumph of the "personality" approach to politics. The General is a perfect front man for the coalition of financial and industrial interests which selected him. *U. S. News and World Report* comments, "Ike's roots are in the Midwestern small town of the early 1900's. Eisenhower missed the depression effects of 1921 and 1929-31." At no time has he indicated any comprehension of the human problems which have helped both to create the Democratic coalition and to keep it in turmoil. One may reject Lubell's estimate that Eisenhower is a "dramatic personality who is above both parties," while agreeing that he "symbolizes the hope of lifting the nation above the divisions of party warfare." His selection "might be termed a substitute for a reshuffling of both parties," since his candidacy serves to blur important issues in American society.

From the Portuguese

EPITAPH OF A SMALL WINNER.

By Machado de Assis. Translated from the Portuguese by William Grossman. Noon-day Press. \$3.50.

BIT by bit the literature of lands south of the Rio Grande, whether written in Spanish, French, or Portuguese, is being brought into focus for readers of English. Progress in the past two decades has been fitful, now pushed by a government policy, now lagging. Nevertheless the trend has continued. No study of sales has been made public,

but if the southern books have not often reached the best-seller list, they have at least aroused enough interest to induce publishers to risk bringing them forth. By this time a collector of modern translations in the field has a long shelf of them.

The latest offering is an ironic and humorous novel by the great nineteenth-century Brazilian, Machado de Assis, a mulatto who rose to be the friend of statesmen and president of the Brazilian Academy of Letters. Born in 1839, he lived for seventy years cursed by epilepsy, rickets, and myopia, intensely shy, brilliantly observant, wily philosophic. He paid for food and rent by working in a government office, but the force that made such a life bearable was literature. He learned French from a baker; he read English. His writings fill thirty-one volumes and show concern with almost every literary form. His translator finds his fame resting on three novels, but anyone who studies Brazilian plays finds him also occupying first rank in the drama.

The present novel, one of the famous three, is a bit of spiced ginger to lighten the pessimism of 1952. It is presented as the irreverent memoirs of a ghost—Braz Cubas was his name on earth, and although he rose to be a deputy he owed his comfortable life to the invention of the Braz Cubas Plaster. Wealthy and successful enough, he was also blessed—if blessing it was—with the love of his best friend's wife. His sister tried to marry him to a damsel "dressed elegantly and expensively—a fact hard to explain, for her father earned barely enough to run into debt." Luckily she died, and he was not forced to reconcile the value of respectability with the pain of boredom. When, after his own death, he balanced the books of his life he found that the good and the bad mostly canceled each other except for one item—"I had no progeny, I transmitted to no one the legacy of our misery." It was this bitter good which made him "a small winner."

The influences of Voltaire, Montaigne, and Laurence Sterne are clear, but Machado de Assis is by no means a poodle who learned from foreign masters how to stand on his hind legs and dance. What gives his writing force as well as form is his own character moving within that strain of realism and

irony which is seen in Portuguese literature as early as the fifteenth century. When the crippled mulatto decided at an early age that he would be a man of letters, this was the heritage closest to his hand. That it is so little understood in the United States is one of the reasons why Americans find Brazilians so pungent a surprise.

It was obviously this element which delighted Dr. William Grossman, the translator, who as an authority on economics and transportation law was called to Brazil to teach college economics. Unlike many of his fellow-professors he ventured outside his own field and fell in love with the writings of Machado de Assis. It speaks well for his own abilities that he was able to give this book so crisp and vivid an English dress. MILDRED ADAMS

Heretical Utopia

THE MILLENNIUM OF HIERONYMUS BOSCH. By Wilhelm Fränger. Translated by Eithne Wilkins and Ernst Kaiser. University of Chicago Press. \$10.

ALTHOUGH this book devotes its 150 pages to a single painting by Jerome Bosch (c. 1450-1516), its general interest is considerable, and its argument is fascinating. A large triptych in the Prado, usually considered Bosch's masterpiece, has always been interpreted as a kind of epic on sin. The wings of this altarpiece, balancing paradise with hell, flank a labyrinthine assortment of nudes engaged in an unheard-of number of variations on the theme of erotic pleasure. The picture has been called *La Lujuria*, *The Garden of Earthly Delights*, *The Sins of the World*, and *The Wages of Sin*. As a result of elaborate and detailed research, Fränger offers a radically new interpretation. These earthly delights are nothing less than a heretical Utopia, painted for a sect known as the Brothers and Sisters of the Free Spirit, also called Adamites. Fränger's new title is *The Millennium*. His book, the first of a series on major works of Bosch, is a highly theoretical but persuasive account of a very unorthodox sect which flourished during the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries in countries as separated as Bohemia, Spain, the Rhineland, and the Netherlands. If Fränger is correct, a

member of this sect, on the occasion of his marriage, commissioned Bosch to paint this work as a kind of apotheosis of Adamite philosophy.

The chief source of information about the Brothers and Sisters of the Free Spirit comes from a remarkable document of an episcopal trial held at Cambrai in the year 1411. On this occasion a member of the cult was charged with heresy on twenty-one counts—he professed his innocence of each. It is extremely difficult to sort fact from malicious rumor, and the highly secret nature of the sect makes the truth all the more inaccessible. It appears, however, that the faithful met in well-hidden places, performed a ritual in a state of nudity, and engaged in erotic pleasure sublimated by its having a higher significance. The brethren desired to attain the condition of innocence enjoyed by Adam and Eve prior to the temptation. They accepted, of course, the doctrine of original sin and the idea of redemption through Christ, but they regarded Eden as a state of grace and one obtainable, moreover, on this earth. Bosch rendered it visible.

While it is still possible to interpret this altarpiece as merely an elaborate and grotesque portrayal of sin, there are numerous difficulties. The paradise shows neither the creation of Adam nor the creation of Eve, neither the temptation nor the expulsion from the Garden of Eden, as was customary in such pictures. This is surprising, to say the least, in a work reputedly devoted to the cycle of sin. And it is a very strange hell that appears here—not the torture of souls by demons but the destruction of man's inventions, the damnation of monks and knights and gamblers, all dominated by a single colossal monster. This monster has a strange, elusive human face which looks back nostalgically to the central scene; its body is a hollow egg containing a tavern, its legs are blasted trees, and its feet are boats stuck in ice. Satan appears, it is true, but in a lower corner, devouring and excreting nude souls, as if to emphasize all the disgusting aspects of physical life, in sharpest contrast to the tender and muted physical rapture of the central panel. Moreover, the landscape of Eden continues as background setting to the earthly joys, while hell is completely detached from it.

If Fränger's argument cannot be broken down by other specialists in the field of painting in the Netherlands, the following developments accrue: the Adamites—who had strong affinities for alchemy—were important enough to enlist the services of a major artist, the person who helped Bosch organize the program of this work must have had the imagination and the knowledge of an Erasmus, and this person is portrayed in the lower right corner of the main panel enigmatically pointing out the new Eve to his bride, who is seen darkly through the crystal apex of a phallic construction. This person would be, presumably, the Grand Master of the Free Spirit. As his face is also the backward-looking face of the monster in hell, we are brought finally to "the Pythagorean definition of the ego, a revelation of selfhood that now acquires very remarkable autobiographical significance. . . . The Hell-ego, worshiping the world in its vanities, has long wavy hair hanging round its face. In contrast to this, the Paradise-ego, which is the ego overcome, wears its hair short as a sign of conversion, the peculiar cut emphasizing the severity of the discipline exercised by the will." Furthermore, Bosch appears to have included a self-portrait among the devotees in a lower corner of the main panel, and this would imply that Bosch himself was a practitioner of this fantastic cult.

The quotation given above will indicate the character of Fränger's text. It is crammed with symbolic double meanings. Nothing is merely what it seems to be. Fränger's thought, in my opinion, suffers from German excess, and I am not convinced that either Bosch or his patron was equipped with all the arcane learning of Fränger himself. I am also bothered with the thought of how such a picture ever became available for purchase by the king of Spain in the early seventeenth century, not to mention his stomachaching such unorthodoxy if he understood it.

The illustrations, including four details in color, are the best yet published in all the books on Bosch, and the translation is excellent. I shall look forward to the comment of specialists on the ideas contained in this book. Even if they are demolished, which I very much doubt, I shall never regret the fascination with which I read it. I had

planned to look through it in a cursory way. The reading time for me turned out to be twelve hours.

S. LANE FAISON, JR.

Ethics and Loyalty

CONFLICT OF LOYALTIES. Edited by R. M. MacIver. Published by the Institute for Religious and Social Studies. Distributed by Harper and Brothers. \$2.

PROFESSOR MACIVER has brought together in this small volume the diverse views of a dozen reflective men on the meaning of loyalty. The undertaking seems peculiarly appropriate in a time when it is scarcely possible to use the term "loyalty" save in quotation marks and when it has come to be little more than a synonym, in popular parlance, for political orthodoxy.

To the philosophers chosen by Professor MacIver, loyalty has profound ethical implications. They consider it something more than patriotism. They lack Senator McCarthy's facility in identifying and defining it. They tend to think of it always in terms of the individual conscience.

Speaking, for instance, of loyalty to the truth, Professor F. Ernest Johnson of Columbia observes that "the virtue of truthfulness can be realized only within a framework of equity that transcends considerations that are merely factual." Speaking of loyalty to the state, Roger Baldwin says, "Traitors always fail, for if they succeed they become patriots." And he goes on to assert, "Political progress owes a great debt to successful traitors. . . . A fair general conclusion on the ground of social ethics is that citizens are justified in disobeying law when it conflicts with a higher religious loyalty, or with a social conscience." Speaking of the difficulty of the problems involved in loyalty, W. W. Waymack declares: "The greatest simplicity that anyone is likely to find in any important aspect is a dilemma. More commonly it is a trilemma, a quadrilemma, or worse."

The underlying problem to which nearly all the essays in the symposium are addressed is the reconciliation of group or institutional loyalties with individual consciences and moral codes. Rabbi Louis Finkelstein, in what seemed

to this reader the most stimulating of the contributions, points out that man's history "has been most profoundly affected by his character as institution builder." The concept affords insight into the problem of conflicting loyalties. "In institutions," Dr. Finkelstein says, "the individual becomes enlarged. . . . Men commit transgressions on behalf of institutions which they would never commit for themselves. Men are cruel in their efforts to save the institutions to which they have devoted themselves, as an animal might be ruthless in the protection of its young." He sees hope only in rearing "a generation of religionists rather than institutionalists"—that is, in transcending institution-mindedness.

It is a pity that these essays and lectures are so brief and disconnected. They introduce various aspects of the problem, but they fail to come to grips with concrete issues, and they lack the continuity and integration requisite to sustained interest. Some of them are so abstract that the ordinary reader may be forgiven if he finds them altogether wanting in focus.

Only a few of the contributions deal at all in meaningful terms with current "loyalty" issues. Notable among these is Ordway Tead's forthright discourse on

the dangers of Know-Nothing interference in American education. "Nothing could be more ironic," he remarks, "than to contemplate the introduction of courses designed to familiarize high-school students with the contemporary social scene, only to have the exposition so tempered by timidity that a false and inadequate view is imparted." He notes astringently by the way that freedom in education demands, when all else is said, courage on the part of school administrators and on the part of the teachers themselves.

The book's final chapter, *The Threat to Privacy*, by Harold D. Lasswell, also concerns itself with an immediate problem of vital importance. Taking account of modern techniques such as wire-tapping, he predicts that "imper-

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fect as existing methods are, they clearly indicate that the time is not far distant when all private thoughts, feelings, and reminiscences are vulnerable to methods of enforced disclosure." Dr. Lasswell warns also that "as the garrison-prison state pattern is more closely approximated, invasions of privacy are to be anticipated." In the name of loyalty to the state it would seem that we are to abandon all loyalty to the purposes for which the state was established.

It must be said that Dr. MacIver's symposium provides few clear answers to the tremendous philosophical questions it has raised. But it has the virtue of inviting independent reflection.

ALAN BARTH

All Kinds of Economics

MAN, MONEY, AND GOODS. By John S. Gambs. Columbia University Press. \$3.75.

IN 1848 a reader of a curious turn of mind could have found in one book, Mill's "Principles of Political Economy," a complete and fair account of the accepted truths of economics. His grandson in 1890 could have secured similar enlightenment from Alfred Marshall's "Principles of Economics." The unfortunate general reader of 1952 can turn to no one book for a summary in acceptable intellectual terms of the methods, assumptions, and achievements of economics. In practice, his choice is between textbooks which are both dull and incomplete and a variety of specialized studies too sophisticated in technique and language for the uninitiated. To an extent of course this is inevitable,

as economics, in common with other intellectual disciplines, has become increasingly intricate and specialized. But as more and more political and social issues come to hinge on economic considerations, the need for economic understanding increases.

Mr. Gambs makes a brave and partially successful effort to satisfy this need. Here is a book of a little more than 300 pages which summarizes standard theory (the price theory of the textbooks), the work of the dissenters (Marx, Veblen, and Mitchell), and the contributions of Keynes. It also considers a variety of current economic topics, including depressions, monetary policy, taxation, and international trade. The book is thus a study of both economic doctrines and economic problems. Mr. Gambs's manner is pleasant and his writing is marred only by a certain facetiousness usually associated with attempts to amuse the college freshman.

He is at his best in summarizing price theory and the institutionalist doctrines of Veblen. There is only one slip of consequence to the economist—the treatment of marginal cost on page 64—in a presentation otherwise admirable in its simplicity and accuracy. His handling of Marxism is also informed and fair-minded.

Probably he has been least successful with Keynes. Gambs treats Keynes as a "standard" theorist largely because he used and extended the accepted economic analysis of his day. Yet Marx is classed as a dissenter even though he relied on Ricardo at least as much as Keynes leaned on Marshall. It would not be worth laboring the point but for the fact that the reader is likely to derive a mistaken impression of the importance of Keynes's impact on economic technique as well as on economic policy. Mr. Gambs compresses Keynesian doctrine into a chapter called Boom or Bust and contrasts his impressionistic technique with the careful work of W. C. Mitchell. This is unfair to Keynes, for the business cycle was Mitchell's life study: it was not Keynes's. To treat Keynes as though he were a business-cycle theorist is to neglect his real role as the originator of modern income analysis. Nor is this account of Keynesian theory on the same high analytical plane as the remainder of the book.

Despite the excellence of Mr. Gambs's book, its general effect is depressing. The trouble lies in the current condition of economics. Economists do not agree in method, conclusion, or policy and they still use a bewildering variety of techniques to produce results often unimpressive and contradictory. It is a virtue rather than a fault in Mr. Gambs that his account makes all of this apparent, but it is likely to be small comfort to any reader who hopes to find in one book, even this one, an adequate orientation in modern economics. The very excellence of "Man, Money, and Goods" proves sadly and once more that economics is no fit subject for the hand of the synthesizer.

ROBERT LEKACHMAN

Books in Brief

SUNDAY, MONDAY, AND ALWAYS. By Dawn Powell. Houghton Mifflin. \$3. Eighteen tricky and astringent stories written during the last two decades by one of our more gifted satirists. The funniest are generally the nastiest: Adam, for example, is about a climber who dumps his mistress in favor of her millionaire husband because the husband will be able to do more for him. Miss Powell ranges with equal knowingness from bobby soxers and movie stars to the professoriat and the avant-garde, but she is a little too concerned with the clever jape and the socko ending.

THE WHITE LADY. By Leonard Dubkin. Putnam's. \$3. Leonard Dubkin is an amateur naturalist who has written two previous books and contributed a nature column to a Chicago paper. One day he discovered in a vacant lot a colony of little brown bats, and seized by a sudden impulse he all but moved in with them, spending many nights in their shelter and watching all the intimacies of love and birth. Almost incredible good fortune favored him in many ways. He saw a rare albino come into the world, and because this "white lady" was identifiable he could follow her development, tame her completely, and even take her to his apartment five miles away, from which she would return on her own to the home colony. Few persons, if any, can ever have ob-

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served before many of the extraordinary things he saw, and he describes his adventures with an extraordinary blend of the personal with the objective. This may well be one of the cases where amateur luck plus amateur enthusiasm has made a real contribution to our knowledge of animals, and the little book may become a classic.

MELVILLE'S QUARREL WITH GOD. By Lawrance Thompson. Princeton University Press. \$6. Starting with the vein of anti-orthodox satire in Melville's work, Professor Thompson unveils for us as the "real" Melville a rationalistic ideologue chiefly engaged in devising verbal "mousetraps and sheeptraps," "sinister allegorical frames of reference," and so on, to conceal his religious heterodoxies from the pious Christian reader. The ingenuity of these hoaxings constitutes, according to the author, Melville's principal claim to our admiration of him as a writer. For the rest, he may be dismissed as "sophomoric," a "spoiled child," a "self-acknowledged coward, fugitive, outcast, escapist." It would be refreshing, simply for novelty's sake, to be able to report some spark of viability in this dissenting opinion, but, as may be gathered, the approach is tangential to a degree, and only the flagrant arbitrariness of its premises and the acuteness of its author's distaste for the imaginative and the experiential distinguish the book from the usual academic vagary of its kind.

CONTRIBUTORS

H. H. WILSON is the author of "Congress: Corruption and Compromise."

MILDRED ADAMS has long been a student of Spanish and Hispano-American culture.

S. LANE FAISON, JR., is chairman of the Art Department of Williams College.

ALAN BARTH, editorial writer on the *Washington Post*, is the author of "The Loyalty of Free Men."

ROBERT LEKACHMAN is a member of the Economics Department of Barnard College.

B. H. HAGGIN is on vacation. His column will be resumed in the issue of August 16.

August 2, 1952

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Generous Reader

Dear Sirs: Cheers for *The Nation*! The special issue of June 28 was ably planned and brilliantly realized. It should be widely circulated and copies sent to every member of Congress. What is more, it should be the foundation of a comprehensive annual survey and report on developments in the whole field of civil rights and liberties.

Progressive and liberal groups should make such a report possible. The writer of this letter is not rich and is no longer engaged in a gainful occupation, but he will cheerfully send a check to any fund established for this purpose.

La Jolla, Cal. VICTOR S. YARROS

Motorcycles: High Tariff . . .

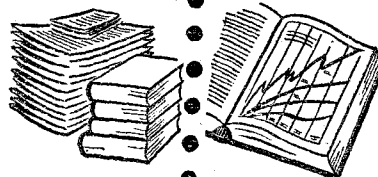
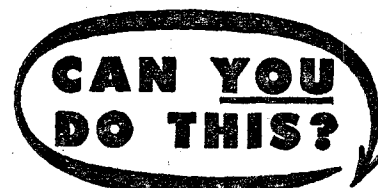
Dear Sirs: In your May 31 issue Keith Hutchison rehashed many of the arguments that were advanced by the attorneys for the motorcycle importers at the hearing before the United States Tariff Commission in Washington last September. . . . The record will show that the Harley-Davidson Motor Company has never in any way expressed opposition to increased imports. We believe the record will also show that Congress has never opposed increased imports. So long as increased imports cover a wide range of commodities no one can object and no one does. Congress, as a matter of long-range policy, foresaw the possibility of excessive imports of specific commodities, and to protect American labor and industry in these commodities from extinction included the escape clause in the Trade Agreements Act.

Would Mr. Hutchison recommend that excessive imports of specific commodities be allowed to go on irrespective of what happens to our labor and industry? Our union, Local 209, United Automobile Workers, A. F. of L., and the International Union, U. A. W.-A. F. of L., of their own volition entered our case before the Tariff Commission. The unions' interest and our own is to save the factory and the men's jobs.

Mr. Hutchison implies that our motorcycles are favored by police forces and the military, that imported motorcycles have not interfered with these sales, and that, consequently, excessive imports have not hurt us. Apparently he does not

know and has not taken the trouble to find out that for years over 60 per cent of our production has been sold to pleasure or sport riders, that our police sales represent only a small percentage of our production, and that our military sales are almost nil.

Does Mr. Hutchison know that our new K model was begun in spring, 1949, six months before devaluation, and that because our present wage scale and fringe benefits total \$2.18 per hour compared to a maximum rate of 65 cents per hour in England we are obliged to sell this model retail at a price 25 per cent to 30 per cent above the prices of imported motorcycles of comparable performance? Does he know that the devaluation of European currencies in 1949 continues to give European motorcycle manufacturers an immediate price advantage of 25 to 30 per cent? Does he recommend that American labor accept European wage scales and the European standard of living, or, not having a job of his own or a factory of his own to lose, does he blithely recommend that all industry in the United States which cannot meet European price competition because of high manufacturing costs here be put out of business so that the



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domestic market can be taken over by European competitors? . . .

Motorcycle imports, which in many months are over 100 per cent of our domestic production, certainly cannot be brushed off. They are excessive, and the escape clause is meant to take care of just such cases.

New York

E. V. GUMPERT

. . . or Low Cost?

Dear Sirs: In reply to Mr. Gumpert of Harley-Davidson, let me say at the outset that I do believe in unrestricted imports at least as long as this country has a large export surplus. The alternatives are (1) drastic shrinkage of exports, which are presumably those goods the United States manufacturer can produce most efficiently, (2) continuation of foreign loans plus gifts to bridge the gap between receipts for exports and payments for imports.

Mr. Gumpert's letter discloses that Harley-Davidson has not opposed increased imports. But its action in asking for a 40 per cent *ad valorem* tariff on motorcycles and, pending the necessary legislation, a quota set at 10 per cent of the previous year's domestic production speaks for itself. The effect of such a quota in 1952 would be a reduction in imports by more than 75 per cent.

The following figures do not seem to sustain the contention that Harley-Davidson has been injured by imports:

Harley-Davidson

	Production	Imports
1939	6,774	360
1946	12,694	9,064
1947	16,263	15,073
1948	26,016	11,809
1949	21,923	5,261
1950	17,024	9,426

Thus Harley-Davidson has been able to increase production in the face of greatly increased imports. The total market has grown, and the figures support my statement that this expansion is due to the efforts of foreign manufacturers.

These figures also show that the total market is still very small in comparison with the market for automobiles. This helps to explain the difficulties of American motorcycle manufacturers, who have been unable to take advantage of mass-production methods. British manufacturers, with a larger home market, are better situated and so have been able to establish themselves as the foremost exporters of motorcycles. It is this rather than lower wages that enables them to compete successfully in the

United States. By contrast, British automobile manufacturers, who pay similar wages, do not offer serious competition to American producers. In this case the cost advantages of mass-production are with the Americans.

In general the Harley-Davidson argument seems to be that imports should be tolerated only if they are of fringe importance, say 10 per cent or less of domestic production. But how are the dollar earnings of foreign countries to be increased if American sales of those of their industries that do have some competitive advantage are to be restricted in this way? In the case of motorcycles the kind of barrier that Harley-Davidson advocates would kill foreign competition almost completely.

New York

KEITH HUTCHISON

An Apology Offered

Dear Sirs: In a letter to *The Nation* published on February 24, 1951, in which I mentioned the name of Mrs. John T. McCullough, I used phrases which did not say what I meant to say; I am completely at a loss to understand how I came to write what I did.

For a professional writer to use the wrong words is humiliating, but I did, and I am profoundly sorry for it. Far more important, however, I want to apologize to Mrs. McCullough for any distress the letter may have caused her, and to express my regrets to the editors of *The Nation* for any difficulties I may have inadvertently caused them.

New York

GILBERT SELDES

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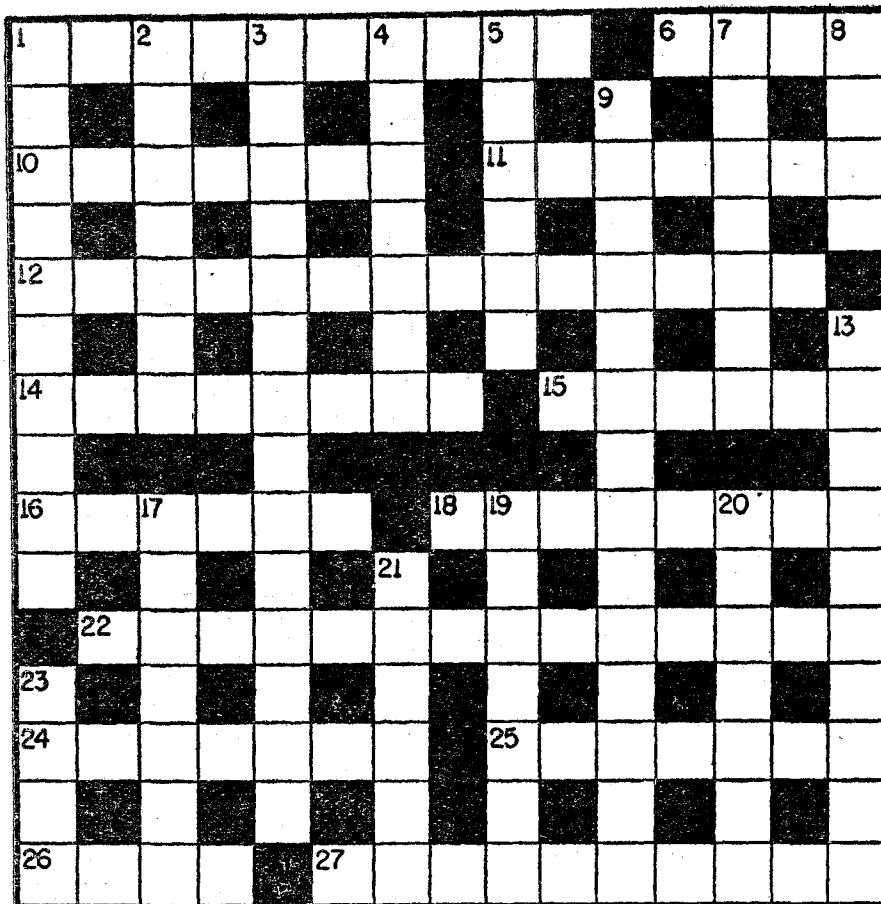
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The NATION

Crossword Puzzle No. 476

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 How things develop in a picnic, perhaps. (Things might not be fitting for those who are.) (9)
- 6 The sort of dash some like to see run. (4)
- 10 One might fix you up with a canape. (7)
- 11 Seems to prove that Hell is colorful, at any rate! (7)
- 12 He who is patient might appreciate one's attendance in the evening. (4, 5, 5)
- 14 The propitious circumstances of patronage. (8)
- 15 We might be singular, in his manner of speaking. (6)
- 16 and 21 down. — with the winning of the workingman's battle? (6, 6)
- 18 The same pair indicates bad blood. (8)
- 22 Do they know what's in store for music counters? (7, 7)
- 24 See 8 down.
- 25 Composed. (7)
- 26 Barks of trees? (Water chestnuts, no doubt.) (4)
- 27 Imputations that sound like those Alexander conquered. (10)

DOWN

- 1 Contrariness is little work with a fighter at a feminine-sounding French town. (10)

- 2 The noble line preceding Carlos XI might be tough hands! (7)
- 3 Making up the eyelashes in the middle. (14)
- 4 Tend to argue. (7)
- 5 Deny time is up, in the wrong net. (6)
- 7 The type of headline might be the type of telephone. (7)
- 8 and 24 across. Comparatively quick? Not in comparison with a bird! (4, 2, 1, 4)
- 9 Officers on parade used to, and throw them back. (8, 6)
- 13 They might be fired for putting out campaign propaganda, perhaps. (10)
- 17 Certainly not a tribal marriage. (7)
- 19 Riding out a rough sea around rising ground, perhaps. (7)
- 20 Are most conductors so called? (7)
- 21 See 16 across.
- 23 This point might be an island if the Scotch accompanist is up to it. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 475

ACROSS:—1 and 16 down HAND-TO-MOUTH EXISTENCE; 9 FILTRATE; 10 PUT OFF; 11 UNKEMPT; 12 HEALTHY; 14 NEURON; 15 DESSERTS; 20 and 17 VOICES OF SPRING; 22 POSSESS; 24 WRITHES; 26 STROKE; 27 HAIR NETS; 28 SPOT REMOVER.

DOWN:—2 and 8 AT THE DROP OF A HAT; 3 DEADPAN; 4 and 25 OVERSHOE; 5 OPPRESS; 6 TOTAL; 7 FIANCE; 13 ADAGE; 18 FRONTS; 19 INSPECT; 20 VERTIGO; 21 EVENTS; 23 STOOP.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

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H. S. SOUTHAM, *Publisher, The Ottawa Citizen*

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